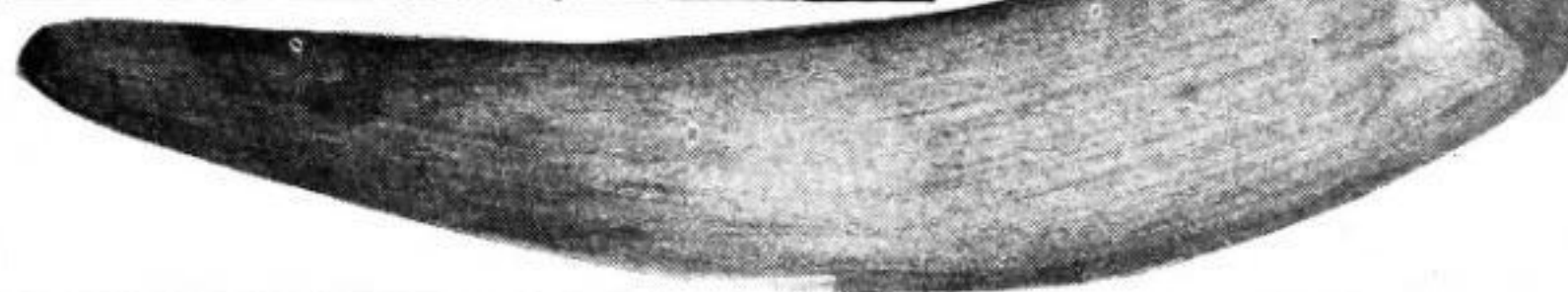


ABENG



Vol. 1 No. 13 April 26, 1969

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SIGNPOST

DUCKENFIELD REPORT

Last week's report about the Duckenfield strike gave us yet another example, if one was needed, of the bankruptcy of those who own the sugar plantations and of those who claim to represent the interests of the sugar workers.

The report does nothing more than repeat the case of employers. It abuses the black people working in the industry for going on strike to protest against the viciousness and hostility of the sugar industry's stooges, called "security officers". These stooges parade around the estates with their loaded shotguns trying to frighten men into working. Three hundred years ago these same people used whips.

But something else is also clearer than ever. The working people are no longer prepared to wait for action by the trade unions to correct the abuses daily put upon them by the employers. They rightly refuse to work whenever their brothers are shot down in the struggle for life. And when that happens, the local officers of the trade unions must either call an official strike or lose the support of the people. When a brother is gunned down and the employers refuse as usual to get rid of the security stooge, no trade union officer has to "incite" people to stop work.

Nobody should expect Commissions of Enquiry to understand that. From the beginning of slavery, they have written what is in the Duckenfield Report. Black people who refuse to kiss the feet of the security vigilantes are referred to as being "minded to disobey instructions or addicted to petty thieving". And vigilantes who shoot down defenceless people are "courageous, fearless and competent", but only a little "over-zealous".

The sugar workers, like banana workers and bauxite workers, must continue to demand:

- 1) that the security vigilantes be dismissed;
- 2) that they have the right to organise their own working relations without security stooges.

JAMAICA BE WARNED!

ASHENHEIM'S CALL FOR EMERGENCY SETS STAGE FOR NEW ASSAULT.

The frightened and desperate minority groups have now decided to come out from behind Shearer's crumbling authority. Either he institutes a state of public emergency to protect them or they will force him out.

On any reading of Ashenheim's speech last week-end, this is the only conclusion that can be drawn. He told the Government that "the general public of all classes (HOW WOULD HE KNOW!) is thoroughly fed with the state of violent siege in which it now lives, that Government is daily losing support because it gives no evidence of any definite and effective action"

The excuse as usual, is the "current wave of crime." ABENG still sticks to its position that all these solutions and measures being proposed have nothing to do with crime. As we pointed out some weeks ago (Vol. 1 No. 7) in connection with the police-military raids, "it is the start of a reign of terror against Black Sufferers who no longer can be fooled by political games and promises."

Ashenheim is not just the mouthpiece for merchant-minority interests. He is also an outstanding lawyer. So he knows quite well that states of emergency were never conceived to deal with crime. That is certain. Jamaica has no more crime or violence than most other countries. The trouble is that this country for a long time has been tottering on the brink of social break-up and the "crime wave" merely exposes this stark truth in ways now physically discomforting

to the minority groups.

The Emergency Powers Law and the Emergency (Public Security) Law, specifically defines the situations which can give rise to such a state. First is the imminence of a state of war or the occurrence of some calamity such as hurricane, famine, etc. Second is some action or immediate threat of such a nature or on so extensive a scale as is likely to endanger or to deprive the community of essential supplies or services.

States of emergency are usually instituted by Proclamation made by the Governor General on advice of the Cabinet. It can also be declared by Parliament, but then the Law lays down that "democratic institutions" must be threatened.

During such an emergency, the Minister has unfettered power to detain people without trial; to deport and exclude persons from Jamaica; to take possession or control of any property or undertaking; to enter and search premises; to amend, suspend or modify any law; and to acquire property other than land.

The Minister is also empowered to take whatever measures appear necessary or expedient for meeting the emergency. If the emergency is made through Proclamation by the Governor General, then it can last for a month in the first instance and is renewable by Parliament for a further 12 months. If it is Parliament that institutes the emergency, the Law places no time limit on how long it may last!

Are these the powers which the society needs to deal with crime?

Of course not! But these are the powers which the rulers of this society want to maintain themselves in control.

ABENG has known this for a long while, and again warns the people to prepare themselves. These men have gone mad and will not be stopped until the people confront them.

What makes the whole thing even more grave is Shearer's position. Not only is he totally isolated from the population but within the Jamaica Labour Party the challenge to his leadership is deepening. Naturally none of his fellow sycophants want to resume their seats on the Opposition benches in 1972. He is a serious liability.

Ashenheim's mocking suggestion could be all that Shearer needs. By calling a state of emergency, he could find a way of staving off the pressure within the JLP for his removal and at the same time hope to regain the confidence of his superiors. This is how he saved himself last October!

It is time Jamaica understood the danger that men like Ashenheim and Shearer pose to what little freedom we still have left. Most of our people after three centuries still live in a state of economic emergency. Today a political emergency is being prepared for them. When politics and economics meet in this fashion, only one thing can happen. Either the people take charge or official barbarism will take charge of them.



ASHENHEIM



SHEARER

BLACK STAND BACK ON AIR JAMAICA

"On Sunday, April 13, 1969, I travelled to New York on Air Jamaica. My ticket which had been mailed to me by Cornell University was clearly marked **FIRST CLASS**, Air Jamaica Flight 011, as my sponsors had indicated in their covering letter. I got on board and proceeded to my seat in the first class cabin. The plane took off and everything was in order until we got to Montego Bay.

Something seemed to have gone wrong in the booking and there seemed to be too many people with claims for first class seats than were available on the Montego Bay/New York leg. My Jamaican sisters — the so-called stewardesses took one look at me and decided that if anybody was to suffer inconvenience for the airline's booking

incompetence, it should be me. It so happened that I was the only black person sitting in the first class cabin.

"Of course, I refused to move. I simply showed my ticket to the ground stewardess who had come on board and who was quite abusive in her approach to me insisting that "you have to move". I said I had no intention of moving and she continued her harassment. I do not know how they solved their problem but I remained in my seat until I reached my destination. No apology was made to me for the embarrassment which they caused me.

"It is not surprising that that is the way our "national airline" treats black people. Look at the first Air Jamaica advertisement for stewardesses."

GEORGE BECKFORD

ORIGINS AND FUTURE OF THE JAMAICA BANANA INDUSTRY



Public Meeting on 18th July, 1935, at the Ward Theatre, Kingston.

(A few months ago, this article was given as a talk to the Oracabessa Citizens Association to commemorate the centennial of the banana industry. Last month marked the fortieth anniversary of the Jamaica Banana Producers Association. The article highlights the struggle of the peasantry and draws lessons from it to indicate possibilities for breaking the present foreign domination of our lives — EDITORS.)

The origins and development of the banana industry bear witness to the determination of the Jamaican people to break through the colonial legacy which still deprives us of a dignified existence and a way of life independent of foreign domination.

Modern Jamaican society has its roots in the slave sugar plantation society and economy of the nineteenth century. Ever since Emancipation in 1838, the chief concern of the ex-slaves and their descendants has been to secure an independent existence. In order to break away from the inhumanities of the plantation, they had first to acquire land of their own and begin to engage in productive activity which had no direct links with the plantation. The planter class, on the other hand, made every effort to frustrate the development of an independent peasantry in order to secure for themselves a reliable source of cheap wage labour.

MORANT BAY

This antagonism laid the foundation for social unrest. Thus, for example, The Morant Bay "rebellion" of 1865 was the direct result of a dispute about the rights of peasants to lands adjoining an estate. On that occasion the peasantry paid a high price in loss of life in the brutal suppression of their demands.

It is in this context that the banana trade originated through the joint initiative of peasants and certain merchants acting as agents for American schooner captains. The planters were so hostile to this development that they never even considered producing bananas themselves.

More than ten years after the trade began, only one estate was listed as a "banana plantation." Not until the 1890's was there any significant plantation participation. And by then bananas represented about 25 per cent of the island's export trade. Thus it was our forefathers who by laying the foundations of the banana industry took the first step towards diversifying our sugar economy.

Initiating the trade was one thing. But maintaining it to our advantage was another. The subsequent history of the trade has been marked by another struggle - to secure good prices as foreign buyers secured a stranglehold on the trade. The first

ten years of the twentieth century saw the growth and expansion of the United Fruit Company - an international corporation involved in production, shipping, and marketing of bananas.

By 1912, that company owned 860,000 acres of banana producing lands in Jamaica, Panama, Costa Rica, Columbia, Honduras and the Dominican Republic.

In Jamaica, United Fruit Company gained an almost monopoly position - swallowing up Elders & Fyffes which had initiated the English trade and knocking out all the older Jamaican trading companies.

But subsequent events show that the peasants had a revolutionary zeal which provided them with the fire to do what seemed impossible.

THE IMPOSSIBLE

The struggle of the peasants during the first three decades of the twentieth century culminated in the launching, on April 1st, 1929, of the Jamaica Banana Producers' Association - a grower - owned co-operative set up to purchase, ship and market our bananas abroad in competition with the giant United Fruit Company.

Subsequent to the formation of the parent body in 1925, a number of banana growers organized meetings all over the Island and "signed up 6,145 members of the Banana Cooperative. On April 1st, 1929 the Jamaica Banana Producers' Association was born with a capital of 4173.12.0 divided into 41,664 shares of 1d each."

"With this small capital and a great deal of optimism this Jamaican Co-operative set out to compete with the largest fruit company in the world."

That is the most revolutionary event in the entire history of this country. It provides us with a salutary lesson for the task confronting us today. For although the Jamaica Banana Producers' Association has grown from this modest beginning to a modern company with some £6 million of capital in the business it still accounts for a minor share (25%) of the banana trade and growers are still at the mercy of Elders and Fyffes (the United Fruit subsidiary). What is more, the lesson applies to other things as well. It provides clues for coming to terms with foreign domination of all major aspects of our national economic life - bauxite, sugar, tourism, banking, insurance, and so on.

The political leaders have not learnt the lesson of this great experience. The official development philosophy continues to be one which relies almost exclusively on foreign initiative. Only a minor share of the banana trade is still accorded to the Jamaican Association. The Association is hardly consulted when Government and the Banana Board have re-negotiated recent contracts with Elders and Fyffes. Mr. Gyles, in response to recent grower demands for their control of the administration of the industry, stated that Government has no intention of handing the industry over to growers to "mash it up."

(Next week: The Problem Today)

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Prop. S. O. GUNTLEY

Marcus Garvey

SPEAKS IN MONTEGO BAY
March, 1921

"I have come to you in Jamaica to give new thoughts to the 800,000 black people in this island. When I contemplated coming to Jamaica I knew that Jamaica had no thought, it was for me to give Jamaica thought. Montego Bay being only a part of Jamaica I knew you had no thoughts save that given to you 83 years as sycophants looking up to the white man as superior and master. I am not here with any sympathy for the old spirit of Jamaica, I am here to give you if I can a new spirit of manhood. Not the spirit to bow and cringe, to apologize, but the spirit to strike forward for the rights of the Negro people of the world.

"Jamaican Negroes are too apologetic. A man who wants things, does not apologize—he demands things! (Hear! Hear!)

"As a people you have been buffeted and tossed about for too long! The time has come when your voice must be heard throughout the length and breadth of this land—and throughout the world. You must not expect speech of compromise, of apologies; that is not in me; I am not made that way. I represent a manhood movement—a movement with backbone and only men of backbone we appreciate. I am here to represent the sentiment of four hundred million Negroes, one of the strongest groups of people in the world.

"I, like the majority of you, was born in this country 33 years ago, circumvented by the conditions of the country—the environment of this country, an environment that sits on black men—that he must be merely a hewer of wood and carrier of water—a servant looking up to the white man as superior and master—who was born to believe himself inferior to other races—born not to have hope for himself. Under this environment I was born myself—you all know of this. But I did not confine myself to this environment which keeps a black man at the foot of the ladder. I was entitled to climb as any other man, be they white, yellow or black.

"I have to disabuse the mind of some of you who came here as black-white and brown-white, men who are everything else except what they are. We have in Jamaica a peculiar race combination which calls for some explanation. I want to give that explanation and those who may be satisfied can remain and those not desirous of being what they are can take the privilege of doing whatsoever they care. I came here to speak to Negroes. I AM NOT HERE TO SPEAK TO WHITE PEOPLE! I WANT THIS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD that this peculiar race question is going to destroy Jamaica—destroy the economic and industrial well-being of this country because this peculiar race question of yours is driving abroad more Jamaicans than you have in Jamaica. And when any country drives its native population abroad that country is doomed. I am here to give you my wide experience and to settle this ignorant race issue of yours. In this country the white man can raise no issue; he is at a discount. Whatever harm is done you are to blame; it is engineered by yourself. Conditions racially depend on yourselves because some of you Negroes refuse to admit what you are, you want to be everything except what God created you to be.

"I want you to understand that you are not living in a world exclusively your own, you are living in a world made up of great groups of humanity, and these divide themselves into races and each race has name. In Jamaica every man represents a race to himself—the most peculiar country for the race question I have ever met.

"The Universal Negro Improvement Association is a world-wide movement of Negroes, black and coloured, who have enough self-respect to call themselves by a race name.

"What is the movement for? For the industrial, commercial, social, educational and political betterment of the race—not only in one country but everywhere. Why do we call it UNIA? Because after careful study and analysis we have discovered that Negroes nowhere represent anything of power and Negroes everywhere are badly treated simply because they represent no power of their own. Hence if all are universally backward let us organize and go forward. Hence I come before you representing the Universal movement of Negroes. We are going home to destiny. And what is destiny? Destiny is the point to be reached by every individual race and nation. And the destination of the black people shall lead them on to a great African Empire.

PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS OPERATING AS SPIES

Recently I was sharing experiences with a brother in one of the parish towns and we were forced into recognizing that the American Peace Corps are carrying out subversive work in this country.

These volunteer workers operate in schools, churches, in bars and on the street-corners, finding out from the people what they feel about the country's political future and even its survival. I've listened to one prod a group of youths into discussion after baiting them with "what you people need is a Castro-type Revolution".

Some of these youths, even the conscious ones, didn't realize that this white voluntary worker was not the least interested in revolution, he was only concerned with giving information to his superiors abroad as to what political attitudes were gaining hold in the country. America's interest in the Caribbean is what this Peace Corps man was protecting.

Another one I know has a camera carrying nearly forty lenses and he takes pictures of certain people in the area who have radical views, from all different angles.

Other fellows have found their rooms searched. Some of us are much the wiser for this experience. However, I fear that these political spies are making inroads in other areas.

They must not be allowed to make any headway like this in our country. When we link this subversive activity with the trip of Canadian soldiers who came to study our mountain-terrain, then we realize that these Peace Corps workers are political spies of a very dangerous sort operating in a sort of double-agent fashion.

TEACHING OF FEAR AND DICTATORIAL ATTITUDES IN CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

Shortly before the elections of 1962—the crucial elections which were to decide which of our political parties should lead us into independence—a truck with a loud-speaker drove past me on Marescaux Road. Coarse voices yowled that Russian ships were in Kingston Harbour to take over the island.

I could not take it seriously. But it is apparent that many people did. What surprises me is that the authorities did not move to check this obvious public nuisance. What surprises me even more is that our schools with all their paeans of praise to Rodney, Nelson and the British navy, had linked these men so little to reality that our people could not even realize that Britannia still dominated Kingston Harbour. When had they ever had an excuse to think otherwise?

But they did not think. They reacted. And thus, a threat that didn't exist was used to wipe out calm assessment of the political situation. This incident shows how necessary it is for us to understand ourselves so that the 'ginnals' of our island won't hold so much sway.

Look carefully at Jamaican society (that of the other West Indies too) and you will see that our fears surmount and often blot out our reason. Why is that? Isn't one source the educational system which possesses an atmosphere which is basically one of fear? Ask any group of small children to play school and they will start whipping one another. They might not even think it necessary to have books in the game.

But this does not explain why there is so little reasoning in the community. To discover that we

must look at the system. Our educational structure, especially that sector that has to do with the masses, has been a series of dictations from above. The Education Department (now the Ministry of Education) dictated to the training colleges which dictated to the students, who became teachers, who dictated to their pupils.

It is possible that within this matrix some thought could arise for it is based on a formal structure. And European educational systems have at times evolved ways and means of provoking thought within their rigidly structured systems. One such means is to accompany each order with a careful description of the reasons for it. Another is for each level to consult with the other before the mandates are issued. The encouragement of debating, interchange of thought, criticism and travel are very helpful too.

It is not that we have not made some efforts to reduce this authoritarianism. It is that our efforts are puny because our educators are the products of the rigid system. They possess authoritarian outlooks themselves and in some cases are outright dictators. A few are hampered by a psychological need to attack life-long opponents or put down those who went to different schools from theirs. These men can't give reasons that can help thought because their reasoning is not basis for action. But if we blame our administrators and our formal structures, we should also look at the informal structures that arose within our colonially erected system.

These have blocked the flow of thought rather than enhanced it.

Our training colleges have long maintained a system whereby the first-year man never is allowed to express his own point of view, sometimes not even to open his mouth. The second year student's role was to vent his spite for his sufferings in the previous year when he would have been better occupied in criticising the leadership of the senior students or the actions in the world he is to teach children about. The senior students followed tradition.

It is doubtful whether the recent reduction in the time spent in college has transformed the relationship between students. All that is happening is that the black masses are getting teachers who are less well prepared. To create more thinking, administrators and principals must give very high priority to the free exchange of ideas. They would find it useful too, to give less weight to 'personality' and more to the ability to stimulate the thinking and interest of our youth.

For we should judge our practices by their effectiveness. What have we learnt from the 'Russian ship' rumour and other lies that play upon our fears. We have learnt that the political hooligan can exert even more authority than the teachers. And he has done this without any formal training. His method is simple, though effective. It is to invent THREATS. And our people who have been taught only to accept what they hear react with fear. But the duty of any body of teachers to an independent community is to teach how to distinguish truth from falsehood.

We should always learn from history.

NOEL WHITE

NEW HOUSING CO-OP SPONSORED BY AFRO-JAMAICA COUNCIL

Many people in this country pay rent all their lives. Because of the very high cost of acquiring homes and political victimization they never own one. This is so because most of the Housing Schemes are controlled by a few men who profiteer on each project. Houses built under Government Housing Schemes offer no better chance as they are provided for registered party supporters.

Realizing this, 7 persons meeting at 57 Waltham Park Rd. in 1958

started the Waltham Land Purchase and Housing Co-operative. Their first subscription was 5/- each, which amounted to 35/-. The Co-operative grew and its assets now value near £40,000.

However, in 1964 the Co-op fell into bad times and a Government investigation called for its liquidation. The members of the Waltham Co-op renewed their efforts and built up a sound investment. But their appeal against liquidation was

rejected in spite of the expert advice of an auditor who gave evidence that their organization was a sound enterprise for small investors.

ACLE HOME INVESTMENTS has been set up by the Council on Afro-Jamaican Affairs to succeed the Waltham Co-op and will negotiate with the liquidators on behalf of its shareholders.

PLAIN TALK.



THE
POLITICAL
HUMPTY-
DUMPTIES
ARE
FALLING

by
Ras Alpha-Son

Fearful Jamaican wake up! No more are thou forsaken. Arise, sing the song of freedom and let it echo to lands afar off. Cast fear aside for Right is our guide and like a compass it directs us into our right paths. It lights up the Universe in flames. What the white man is doing severs us, keeps us apart, holds us under bondage longer, being servants under exile.

We the black people of Jamaica are the vanguard of this vast amount of black people taken as slaves from Africa, and the most militant. We, the runaway slaves, we have run away from slave drivers, are infrequently caught and made prisoners by white bosses. And blacks always are the servants. We are the first to realize independence with our blood. Earlier upon the plantations and in the cane fields and in the grinding of sugar canes, it was our flesh and blood that greased and kept those mills running.

Fear not. Freedom, Justice, Peace, one in three, three in one, Human Liberty for every man, regardless of colour, class or creed.

"JAMAICA HARDSHIP"

The Humpty-Dumptyes are perplexed for the ship of state has a leak, with a cargo of unemployed men, women and their children. This ship, "Jamaica Hardship", is sinking fast and there are no survivors among the unemployed. This is the ship of state piloted by Captain Clarke and on his voyage around Poverty Island he gives a little more bread and butter. This voyage lasted ten years. Then came Captain Washington with new ideas of avoiding Poverty and the storms upon that Island. Dropping anchor at Referendum Bay he said the storms are too violent. I cannot risk the ship ahead. Full stop.

We are upon Dry Dock with no workmen to repair our bottoms. And this caused a living cargo of human beings to be dumped overboard, some went voluntarily. This is the way we travelled from Africa in ships' holds, packed like sardines, squeezing each other until now, like a barrel filled with crabs, we struggle against each other to find back our way to Africa.

BLACK ADMIRAL

Garvey, a Black Admiral of the Black Star Line who attempted to pilot Africa's millions from all the lands afar off, was given one death and two funerals, one at sea and one on land. They buried truths. Things that we wanted to know were barred from us as black people. Under slavery we were not to be educated, were not to uphold our original culture, customs and traditions. And it is because Garvey educated the black man that he was hurried from the scene.

THE FALL

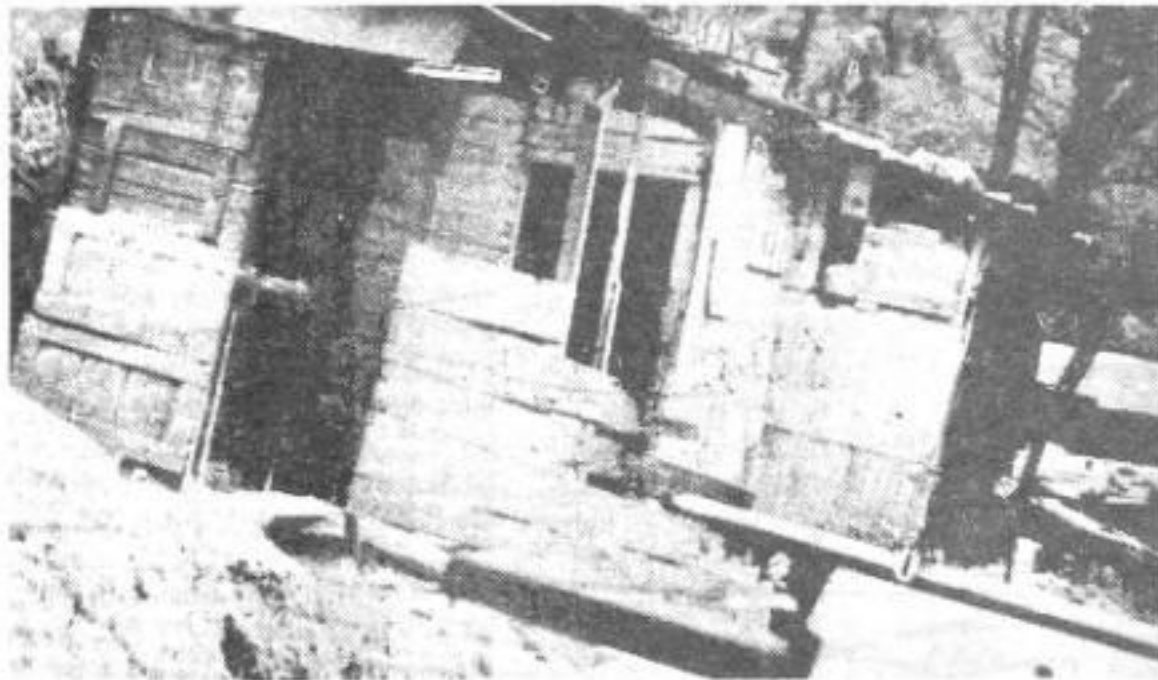
Jamaica gone to the rags. This sermon was preached on King St. downtown Kingston by Rev. Manley of the "Two Party System" Church and State. "Jamaica gone to rags" from a police loud speaker, "cost of living on way to Mars." His pulpit was a J.O.S. bus, topic, "Jamaica in Slavery". The Leader say, "go home and wait for the Resurrection. I am retiring so I will see you on Judgement Morning. . ."

Humpty Dumpty had a great fall. Not all the King's men could raise him up again. This fall of the Two Party System is inevitably near. 'Cause in a Police State the police is the sole authority. Prime Minister Shearer declare, no beatitudes—shoot and ask questions after, move and keep on moving. And so Jamaica has moved on to Freedom now!

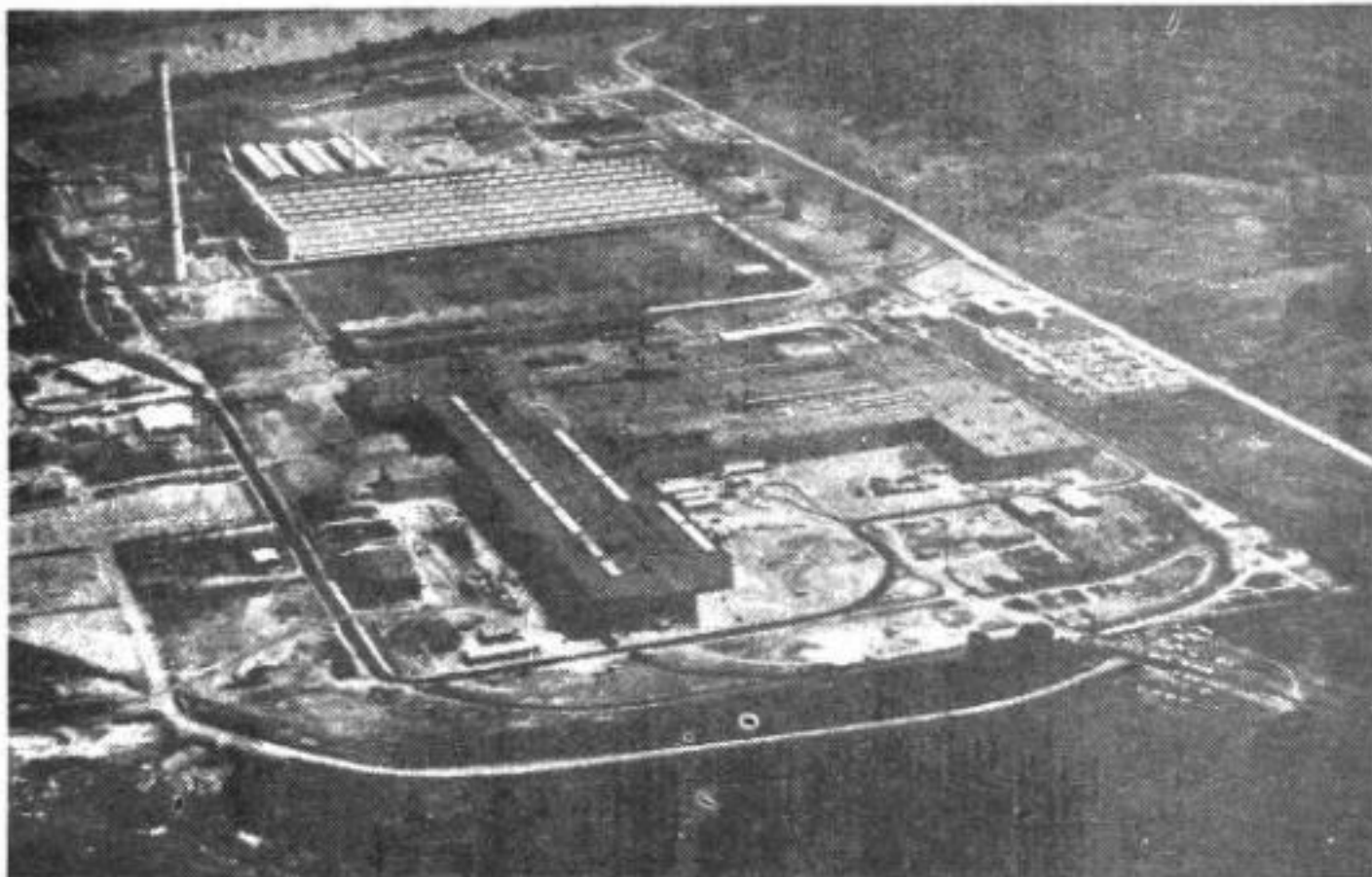
UNITY GUARDS

Brothers and sisters, lend me your attention. I come to further the aims of my forefathers — Paul Bogle, William Gordon, Marcus Garvey, for a better life on earth, to solve some of the problems that confront us today, here in Jamaica and in the world. People of Jamaica unite. Unity Guards, a new movement of people ready to struggle to defend their rights and civil liberties, to protest and fight against poverty, illiteracy, hunger and wants. Unity guards the majority of people. The poor—unite into a inter-social and revolutionary society with One God, One Aim, One Destiny—Freedom for all mankind.

**BAUXITE COMPANIES AND
POLITICIANS CAPTURING LAND
FROM POOR FARMERS**



PLUNDER, UNLIMITED...



HERE WE SEE THE KAISER ALUMINIUM PROCESSING PLANT IN RAVENSWOOD,
WEST VIRGINIA, U'S'A'

Side by side with the develop-
ment of tourism on the North Coast
of this parish, peasant farmers espe-
cially in the Dry Harbour Mountain
area have been losing land to Bauxite
Companies. As a result most of the
arable lands have been taken away
from them and are now being mined.

These companies in many instan-
ces offered resettlement lands in
exchange for lands acquired from
farmers and in addition carried a
lease programme by which lands
were made available to peasant far-
mers by various types of lease. The
major weaknesses in the system lay
in these major factors—

- a) The companies had the stronger
say in the prices for which lands
were sold.
- b) The companies had final say in
parcels of land which were given as
resettlement.
- c) Farmers in most instances sold
developed lands and received un-
developed lands.
- d) Resettlement lands were given
usually in areas in which it was quite
expensive and difficult for farmers
to travel to.
- e) It sometimes took periods of
several years, over 13 years in some
cases for resettlements to be allocat-
ed to farmers who sold lands.
- f) Usually the companies purchased
the arable areas and left the peasant

farmer hanging on to marginal and
non-arable lands.

DESPERATE SITUATION

The situation has now become
increasingly difficult and will be-
come desperate in time if some impor-
tant move is not made to relieve the
situation facing these farmers.

This problem has been covered
up over the years through leases
granted by these companies. The
companies now require the lands for
mining and a number of leases have
to be terminated from year to year,
with the result that lands become
scarcer each year.

Where will those rendered land-
less by this process end up and what
will become of the sons and daugh-
ters of such farmers? What must the
young man do when he can find no
employment?

Someone will counter by saying
that several of the farmers who
received resettlement lands from
these companies sold them out and
have no one to blame for their
dilemma. I admit that some of these
were careless, but the majority have
been forced to do so, because they
found it impossible to develop these
holdings due to lack of finance,
distance from their homes and the
non-arable state of some of the
parcels of land received.

POLITICIANS IGNORE PEOPLE

The political leaders of Jamaica
however are so eager to grasp the
taxes paid by these companies that
they have failed to see the social
and financial erosion which this has
caused to hundreds of families.

Politicians have exhorted the peo-
ple to sell lands without studying
and working out satisfactory impro-
vements for the poor farmers. They
are far more interested in talking
with the managers of these com-
panies than with seeing to the finan-
cial stability of the farmers who
they claim to represent.

I strongly advise the Prime Min-
ister to take a serious look into this
situation and though I cannot give
the final answer, I am sure that
volunteer police and military strate-
gy is not the answer. This country
is rotten. It needs a lot of pruning.
What you see on the surface is the
fruit produced by years of neglect
of the lower classes in this society.
However, unless the sources from
which these fruits are produced are
themselves pruned and eradicated,
the harvest will be more than the
reapers can take off.

ST.ANN
ABENG CORRESPONDENT

**Marcus
Garvey**



LAST SPEECH BEFORE INCARCERATION IN THE
TOMBS PRISON, NEW YORK CITY.

" Now, understand me well, Marcus Garvey has entered
the fight for the emancipation of a race; Marcus Garvey
has entered the fight for the redemption of a country.
From the graves of millions of my forebears at this hour
I hear the cry, and I am going to answer it even though
hell is cut loose before Marcus Garvey. From the silent
graves of millions who went down to make me what I
am, I shall make for their memory, this fight that shall
leave a glaring page in the history of man.

I did not bring myself here; they brought me from my
silent repose in Africa 300 years ago, and this is only
the first Marcus Garvey. They have thought that they
could for 300 years brutalize a race. They have thought
that they could for 300 years steep the soul of a race in
blood and darkness and let it go at that. They make a terrible mis-
take. Marcus Garvey shall revenge the blood of his sires. So don't be
afraid of Marcus Garvey. When Marcus Garvey goes to jail the world
of Negroes will know. They have come at the wrong time.

"I repeat that if they think they can stamp out the souls of
400,000,000 black men, they make a tremendous and terrible mis-
take. We are no longer dogs; we are no longer peons; we are no longer
serfs — we are men. Tell us about fear; we were not born with fear.
Intimidation does not drive fear into the soul of Marcus Garvey.
There is no fear, but the fear of God. Man cannot drive fear into the
heart of man, because man is but the equal of man. The world is
crazy and foolish if they think that they can destroy the principles,
the ideals of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 17, 1923



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